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## WYCLIFFE'S INFLUENCE UPON CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE.

ALREADY at the end of the 13th century there was a plan to establish a University in Prague, but owing to misunderstandings between King Wenceslas II. and the Bohemian nobility and other difficulties, it could not be carried out. Only fifty years later the son of King John of Bohemia, Charles IV., succeeded in realising the idea of his grandfather, Wenceslas II. Since its foundation in 1348, the University of Prague attracted many professors and students from the neighbouring countries, and served as a link between the Bohemian lands and the more progressive Western Europe.

Of course even before the reign of Charles IV. Bohemia had relations abroad, but during his reign, a regular and lively exchange of cultural values set in. In the preceding century there was a strong and sometimes almost dangerous influence of Germany ; but in the time of Charles IV., who was himself brought up in Paris, the French, and later, the Italian culture, especially the actual revival of letters, asserted themselves in Bohemia. Prague University soon came into close relations with the universities in Bologna, Paris and Oxford, and in many points followed their authority. In 1367, not quite twenty years after its foundation, a statute was issued, by which bachelors were allowed to lecture only in agreement with the discourses of well-known Parisian and Oxford professors ; only doctors and masters were permitted to lecture according to their own discretion. The intercourse with Paris was lively enough, but for the future spiritual development of the Czech nation the connection with Oxford University was much more important. From Oxford Wycliffe's ideas penetrated into Bohemia and reinforced the Bohemian reform movement, which had its origin in Charles's time and which later was known as Hussitism. In the University of Prague many of Wycliffe's views found their home when they were suppressed in England, and from Prague they spread in Central and Eastern Europe.

It would be interesting to find out when Prague University first came into contact with the University of Oxford, but records on both sides are so scanty that there is but little hope of our ever succeeding. According to the present state of our knowledge, Vojtěch Raňků z Ježova (Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio), a prominent Professor and Canon of Prague, should be considered the first envoy. Master Vojtěch studied and lectured in Paris, where in 1355 he was elected Rector of the University, and afterwards he went to Oxford. In Oxford he entered into relations with Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, the well-known opponent of the Mendicant Orders. In later life he used to claim with great pride that he always followed the doctrines of the excellent professors of Paris and Oxford. He also laid a sound foundation for regular intercourse between Prague and the two Universities by bequeathing all his fortune to found a scholarship for two Czech students, who would like to study liberal arts or theology either in Paris or in Oxford. We do not know the system under which the scholarships used to be granted, but we may imagine with some certainty that in the 14th and early 15th century a fair number of Czech students who studied in Paris sailed across the Channel and stayed in Oxford, so that the legacy of Master Vojtěch bore fruit.

Since 1382, when Anne, the daughter of the Bohemian king, Charles IV., and wife of Richard II., was on the English throne, the relations of these widely separated countries were easier and more lively. There were several envoys who travelled between England and Prague, and whom a student easily might have joined, and there were several Czechs among the people of Queen Anne's court, and even around some English noblemen who would give the first hospitality. Those who in such a way came to England, would have soon noticed the revolution which the doctrine of John Wycliffe was effecting, not only in Oxford and in learned circles, but through the whole country. It is of course more than doubtful if any one of them met the master himself; Wycliffe died two years after Anne's arrival (1384), and hardly suspected what fertile soil his views would find in the home of the new English queen, and how they would flourish there when in his own country they would be suppressed. But the polemics directed against Wycliffe's doctrine both in Oxford and elsewhere did not allow his name to fall into oblivion, so that even those coming from afar must have learned of him. Even in Anne's immediate surroundings, there may have been people who knew Wycliffe's works, for Anne's

desire for religious knowledge was above the average. The best testimony of her eagerness in reading the Scriptures was given by Archbishop Arundel in his funeral speech, when he said that she used to read the Gospels in an English translation with learned annotations, although she was foreign by birth. Still, during her lifetime ties may have been established, which did not come to an end with her death.

Slowly manuscripts of Wycliffe's works began to appear in Prague ; in the nineties of the 14th century his philosophical writings became known there. Later, from about 1400, his theological ones appeared. Master Jerome of Prague is credited with the first introduction of Wycliffe's theological works into Bohemia. In 1416 Jerome ended his life at the stake as his companion Master John Hus had done a year earlier, and he was for centuries commemorated as one of the first martyrs of the reformed Church of Bohemia. He openly confessed that he was attracted to Oxford by Wycliffe's fame and by his doctrines. He assiduously studied there his theological works and brought to Prague copies of two prominent ones, the *Dialogue* and *Triologue*. From that time onward interest markedly increased, and soon Prague had copies of the majority of Wycliffe's writings. In 1403 the first dispute concerning his views took place at Prague University, and ever since Wycliffe's name and doctrine was the chief subject of the controversies among the masters.

Wycliffe's works penetrated also into other countries, but they nowhere found so much favour as at the University of Prague, and nowhere did they exert such a great influence as in Bohemia. One is naturally led to look for reasons for these events ; the only satisfactory explanation is to be found in the reform movement which began to develop in the second half of the 14th century and brought a new ferment into the nation.

Its beginnings may be also connected with the name of Charles IV. because some of his actions gave to it an involuntary stimulus. In earlier times Bohemia had developed on rather independent lines, but this situation changed when the Arch-bishopric was founded in Prague (1344) and when Prague became the centre of the Holy Roman Empire. Along with favourable cultural influences many abuses spread to Bohemia. Charles's generosity towards the clergy and clerical institutions, which was imitated by the nobility and wealthy burghers, rather encouraged a falling off from the order of the primitive church, to which all reformers point as to the model of the Christian

life. Soon the conditions became so serious that Charles himself and the first Archbishop of Prague, Ernst of Pardubice, saw the need of intervention.

On their invitation the famous preacher, Conrad Waldhauser, came from Austria to Prague and was active more especially among its German inhabitants. Waldhauser soon had surprising results, which nearly always were the lot of the great preachers who in times of general lassitude and negligence began to denounce the discrepancy between the demands and the actual practice. This activity did not remain an episode. Soon a Moravian, John Milíč of Kroměříž, joined him and preached to the Czech populace of Prague. After Milíč there were many other preachers, and the continuity was maintained until the appearance of John Hus. Milíč's followers were not satisfied with the pulpit only, but developed a literary activity which should have served the same aim as their sermons. The most prominent disciple of Milíč, Matthias of Janov, who because of his long stay in Paris was called "magister Parisiensis," brought into an admirable system both the criticism of the contemporary church and the projects of reform which were proclaimed from different pulpits. His work *De regulis Veteris et Novi Testamenti* is the first important literary product of the Czech reformation and largely influenced its future development. It was intended chiefly for the educated classes. For those who did not know Latin, Thomas of Štítný, another follower of Milíč, wrote in Czech many tracts and collections of sermons.

The real originator of the movement, which by the end of the 14th century had already gained great strength and importance, was not so much Prague University in its whole or its members, as the popular preachers. Gradually many masters and professors of the University joined their ranks, but only towards the end of the century did their numbers increase. In Hus's time the University, especially its Czech members, were the main supporters of the movement.

At the beginning of the 15th century, the movement was so widely spread amongst people, that it became urgent to supply it with an adequate theory. The leaders discovered the relationship of Wycliffe's ideas to the programme of the movement at home, saw that their endeavours for reform in the Church could be based upon them, and were anxious to become acquainted with the whole of Wycliffe's works. For this reason Master Jerome went to Oxford and his example was later eagerly followed. New copies of Wycliffe's writings arrived in Bohemia.

In 1406 two students, Nicholas Faulfisch and George of Knihnice, went to Oxford with the special object of copying Wycliffe's tracts. They probably did not find there what they were in search of, for in Oxford Wycliffe's works had already been suppressed. But in the country there were several centres of Wycliffe's followers, the Lollards, where a rich harvest could have been expected. The two students not only set out for some of these places and made copies of Wycliffe's writings, but they formed personal relations with the Lollard leaders, which were not without consequences in future. In the spring of 1407 they left Oxford and lived for some time at Kemerton, not far from Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire. In that part of England Sir John Oldcastle, the well-known head of the Lollards, had many followers. From thence they went to Braybrook in Northamptonshire, where there was another centre of the Lollards, since it belonged till 1401 to their benefactor Sir Thomas Latimer. The expedition was a complete success. The students brought to Prague not only many writings hitherto unknown there, and a chip from his tombstone which they saw during their visit to Lutterworth, but also a document in which the University of Oxford gave testimony of the orthodoxy and blamelessness of Wycliffe. From the first that document has not been generally considered authentic, and even now there is no agreement about the point. But when it was read at Prague University, it caused no little excitement, strengthened the self-esteem of Wycliffe's Czech admirers and increased the interest in his ideas.

Either through the students or in other ways which for want of records cannot be traced, the news of the popularity of Wycliffe's works in Bohemia reached the Lollards, and also news of a reform movement which had many things in common with them. These relations were kept up for some years, though distance made any closer contact difficult ; nor did they remain limited to England. The Czech followers of Wycliffe came also into relation with the Scottish Lollards. Fantastic pamphlets called *Nova Scotia*, probably directly from Scotland, reached Prague in 1410. From them readers in Prague got news of the activity of a rather mysterious, if not entirely fabulous person, whom the pamphlets called Quintinus Folkhyrde, declaring him to be a messenger of God and a proclaimer of His truth. A brief remark in the introduction to the pamphlets says that Folkhyrde went through Scotland and exposed unworthy clergy. He accused them of not living according to the Gospels, of not teaching people religious truth, and of opposing people who

wanted to read the Scriptures in their native language. For these proceedings Folkhyrde soon got into difficulties with the hierarchy and defended himself in a letter intended for the Scottish clergy and the Bishop of Glasgow. The news of the mysterious Scottish moralist raised lively interest in Prague. From the beginning of the movement sharp invectives against unworthy ministers were heard from Czech pulpits, and the gallant assault of Folkhyrde, which was vividly described in the pamphlets, called forth a sympathetic approval. The more so, because at that time there was an obvious action of the higher Bohemian clergy against Hus for his severe preachings against them. Soon the Scottish pamphlets were translated into Czech to make them accessible to those ignorant of Latin.

On the other hand, in Wycliffe's country the news of the mighty protectors of the reform movement in Bohemia and also of the oppressions which the followers of reformation had sometimes to suffer, was received with the same keen interest. We have evidence of this in the letters of Sir John Oldcastle, called Lord Cobham, and of Richard Wyche, Vicar of Deptford, which were sent to Bohemia. The first letter of Oldcastle, written in Cooling in Kent, was intended for two prominent Czech noblemen, who were known to Lollards as zealous defenders of the programme of reform. Hus is not mentioned there, but he probably knew of the letter and entered into correspondence with Oldcastle, who was regarded as chief of the Lollards. Hus's letter to Oldcastle contained among other things praise of King Wenceslas IV. for his support of the reform movement, which gave such a pleasure to the old Lord, that he once more took up the pen. The letter which he sent this time to Bohemia was addressed to the King himself; it expressed thanks for the King's favour to the party of reform, and at the same time encouraged him to persevere. The advice was not misplaced with regard to the shifty King Wenceslas, but the writer himself stood in need of it when not long afterwards he was exposed to persecution for his faith, and two years after Hus was cruelly tortured to death.

The letter of Richard Wyche was addressed to the leader of the movement, John Hus himself. The original impulse was given by news of the burning of Wycliffe's books which took place in Prague in 1410 at the instigation of the Archbishop, who in this way wanted to stop the spread of false doctrines. The gravity of the danger is proved by the number of books which were given up for examination and then destroyed.

According to some records, 200 manuscripts were burned. Hus sharply criticised this step of the Archbishop and thereby won the admiration of Richard Wyche, who was many times persecuted for his attachment to Wycliffe's ideas. Wyche's letter was a summons to constancy and patience in adversity. Hus answered very warmly, not only in his own name but also in that of thousands of listeners to whom he read the letter, and for whom he translated it into Czech. The answer is full of hope and contains thanks for the support which the movement had got from England. This is obvious from the lines which I quote from the translation of Dr. H. B. Workman: "I am thankful," Hus says, "that Bohemia has under the power of Jesus Christ received so much good from the blessed land of England through your labours." The words, "blessed land of England," "benedicta Anglia," which Hus used of the country of Wycliffe, best show how much he appreciated the spiritual help coming thence.

The oppression which Wyche's letter mentioned, fell soon more heavily upon the Lollards than on the Czech movement. No wonder that during the persecution in England many Lollards remembered the far-off country where the master's doctrine found such a reception. Possibly some of them fled there in order to save themselves from persecution. We know quite positively of one, Peter Payne, called also Clerk, who formed the last link in the relations between the Lollards and Bohemia. He came from Lincolnshire and studied in Oxford. According to one version, he was responsible for the document issued by the University of Oxford, asserting the blamelessness of Wycliffe, which had raised such a commotion in Prague. He was Principal of St. Edmund's Hall in Oxford, but was compelled to leave the country, on declining to renounce Wycliffe's doctrines. He was accepted in a very friendly manner in Bohemia, and though he never learnt Czech, he assimilated himself perfectly with the followers of Hus, especially with their radical wing. He displayed a considerable literary activity and participated in many negotiations of the Hussites as their delegate. He played an important part at the Council of Basel, where he had to defend the Hussite views on the secular "dominion" of the clergy. His life was turbulent and it is difficult to say what was his end. By his death in 1456 the last link in those personal relations between the two countries, which had been formed in the second half of the 14th century by Master Vojtěch Raňků, was broken.

It is quite natural that the relations between England and

Bohemia, which we have sketched, could not remain without influence on the Czech reform movement. It is, however, difficult to determine accurately its extent and to say which elements of the Hussite doctrine were original and which had their source in Wycliffe's writings. There was no unity among the leaders of the Bohemian movement in their relation to Wycliffe. We can see a whole range of opinions from extreme conservatives who stood often opposed and rejected him, through moderate adherents who admired his striving for Church reform, to determined followers who accepted even such of his dogmas as were condemned by the authority of the Church and who forsook the ground of its discipline.

The place of the leader of the movement, of John Hus, is somewhere in the middle of that chain combining conservatives with radicals. There can be little doubt about his admiration for Wycliffe. Hus was certain that Wycliffe's activity was for the best of the Church and that it was helping to stop its decline. We are quite clear also about the fact that Hus, when composing his theological tracts, very often relied on Wycliffe's writings, and that he took over and adapted whole sections from them. But in spite of this it is not possible to maintain that Hus blindly and slavishly followed his English predecessor and master, or that he was completely dependent on him and that his writings were only rearrangements of Wycliffe's works. It is also not possible to say that it was Wycliffe's writings alone that evoked a deep religious movement in Bohemia, or that this movement was nothing else but Czech Wycliffism. The movement, which included in its programme a part of Wycliffe's views, had existed in Bohemia already in the third quarter of the 14th century; its later growth was fomented not only by their propaganda but also by many other circumstances which we shall mention later. So far as Hus is concerned, it may be said that he was not so much attracted by Wycliffe's dogmatic ideas as by his zeal for reform in Church and more especially in the life of the priests. Wycliffe gave an appropriate form to these tendencies, and Hus liked to use his words in many of his books, which were very often hastily written amid disputes with his opponents.

That it is hardly possible to identify the Hussite movement with Wycliffism is best shown by the study of Hus's "attendant in the gospels," Master Jacobell of Stříbro, who next to Hus and Jerome was one of its foremost leaders. Jacobell soon learned to know Wycliffe and followed him in theory more

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closely than Hus, accepting his doctrines almost in their entirety. But besides those of Wycliffe he also studied the writings of the Czech reformer, Matthias of Janov ; and the influence of both these teachers is apparent in his numerous works. For instance, Jacobell took over Wycliffe's doctrine of remanence (*remanentia panis*), which was accepted later by the radical Hussite party of Taborites also. On the other hand, he was brought by the ideas of Matthias of Janov to the belief that the sacrament ought to be offered even to laymen in both kinds. Jacobell afterwards became the most zealous propagator of this idea ; it was chiefly his merit that the chalice became the symbol of the Hussites. Through the writings of Jacobell and many of his contemporaries, the ideas of Matthias of Janov influenced the Hussite movement.

At the beginning Wycliffe's views were accepted only by the learned circles at Prague University. From thence they spread among people who were already won over to the idea of reform in the Church by ardent preachers and who therefore readily accepted them. The Hussite movement grew from several roots. Religious problems and moral aspirations were foremost ; as in the case of many other ideal movements Hussitism did not remain one-sided. The endeavour to reform the Church and to abolish abuses in religious life soon became mixed up with the desire to reform the social order and the relations between different classes of human society. These new tendencies were especially prevalent after Hus's death, when the movement captured the majority of the nation and extended from Prague to the country. In the other centre of Hussitism, Tábor, where the radical wing was in control, an attempt was made to transform the whole social order by organising a religious community after the example of the early Christians, and for a short time common property was introduced.

The quick development of the movement and its inner value were strengthened by the fact that tendencies towards reform coincided with the growing national consciousness. The colonisation effected by Bohemian kings in the 13th century had brought many Germans into the country, who not only occupied the border districts, but also had in their power most of the towns. Since the beginning of the 14th century a movement rose among the Czech inhabitants of the towns to break German influence. The struggle was prolonged into the first decades of the 15th century, till the complete victory of the Czechs over the wealthier classes of German citizens. It had begun

earlier than the reform movement, but this gave it a fresh impetus. The movement was joined and supported by the Czechs, whereas the Germans remained in the camp of its opponents. This connection between the programme of reform and the struggle of the Czech urban population for the improvement of their economic and social conditions was considerably tightened when it became obvious that the chief participants in the crusades against the Hussites were Germans from other parts of the Empire. It was at that time that the two currents finally merged.

Neither at the beginning nor at this later stage was Hussitism ever regarded as a mere local movement, limited by the boundaries of the Bohemian lands. Already the first preachers and reformers tried to apply their programme to the whole Church. This tendency later developed, and throughout the 15th century efforts were made to transfer the Hussite doctrine, and Wycliffe's views included in it, into neighbouring countries. In this way Wycliffe's name and ideas became known in Central and Eastern Europe, though the direct influence was not great. The propagators were either Czechs visiting foreign countries and spreading their views through tracts or preaching, or, again, students of Prague University who made propaganda in their native countries.

So it was in Poland, for instance. There were many professors at the University of Cracow who had come from Prague, and in this way there existed a lively intercourse between the two universities. Cracow was the first place in Poland where Wycliffe's writings became known; and already in the first decade of the 15th century we find polemics against him there. In 1413 Hus's friend, Master Jerome, went to Cracow, and even to Lithuania and Russia. In Poland he did not conceal his sympathies for Wycliffe's doctrines, and his visit aroused lively interest, though it had no permanent influence. Hus also was in correspondence with Poland and tried to gain the Polish king for the idea of reform in the Church and especially among the clergy. That the name of Hus was not unknown in Poland is obvious from the fact that some Polish noblemen who were present at the Council of Constance, joined the nobles of Bohemia and Moravia in issuing a protest against his imprisonment. When after Hus's death the movement spread through the whole nation, it overflowed into Poland, especially when in the twenties of the 15th century there were negotiations on behalf of a Polish and Lithuanian candidate for the throne of Bohemia, and many envoys passed between Bohemia and Poland. Also

many opponents of Hussitism fled to Poland, and this gave rise to a copious polemical literature written either by them or by the Poles. Most of these polemics came from the professors of Cracow, which, unlike her older sister, remained untouched by the Wycliffite and Hussite heresy, and helped to suppress it. Pope Martin V. directly thanked Cracow University for her constancy "in resistendo Wiclistis et Hussiticis hereticis"; and the Bishop of Cracow, Zbygniew Olesznicki, wrote that by her voice she frightened the Bohemian heresy approaching the frontiers of the Polish kingdom. But the Bishop himself tried no less hard to stop Czech influence and was finally successful. Neither among the clergy nor among the people of his diocese did Hussite doctrine take root, and it was soon suppressed. The names of the opponents of the movement are well known, but we have little information about its adherents, even when they were literary, probably because their writings were soon suppressed or destroyed. We know only one collection of sermons written by a Polish Hussite who studied at Prague University and later was active as a preacher in a small Polish town. Among the professors of Cracow University, Andreas Gałka of Dobszyn was known as an ardent follower of Wycliffe; he was author of a poem, *Carmen vulgare in laudem Wyclif*. For his views Gałka was banished from the University and lived afterwards in Bohemia. There he had in 1451 a disputation with Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II., during his visit to Tábor. Among Polish writers who were influenced by Hussite views the most prominent was John Ostroróg from Greater Poland; many of the leading ideas of his *Memoryal o naprawie Rzeczypospolitej* (Memorial on the Reform of the Commonwealth), written in the seventies of the 15th century, remind us of the views of John Hus and of another Czech reformer, Peter Chelčický, who was also an admirer of John Wycliffe and through his writings influenced the early members of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren.

If the anti-Hussite activity of the Bishop of Cracow had a permanent success, the bishops in Greater Poland, where Ostroróg was born and lived, had a harder task. To this part of Poland Hussite ideas penetrated most probably through Silesia, and gained ground among the nobility and people. Already during Hus's lifetime a clergyman from the Poznań diocese stood out for his defence. Later we find Hus's followers in small towns like Pakość and Zbąszyń; they were protected by noblemen who themselves sympathised with Hussite doctrines. In vain the Bishop of Poznań condemned in the year 1421

the Hussite heretics ; he himself and his successors found it very difficult to exterminate their followers. Bishop Bniński of Poznań in 1439 captured at the castle of Zbąszyn five prominent apostles of Hussitism and burned them on the square of Poznań, but even then he could not stop the propaganda. Almost through the whole 15th century people were called before the courts in the diocese of Poznań and Gnieźno, on the charge of relations with Bohemia and of observing Hussite practices, especially the Communion in both kinds. As late as 1499, not long before the coming of Luther, the priest Adam of Radziejów went to the stake for his refusal to disregard the command of Our Lord, "Drink ye all of it," and for offering to the people both consecrated bread and wine. Even in Greater Poland the movement did not capture the whole nation, but through the 15th century it had many adherents.

Students of Prague University brought Wycliffe's and Hus's views also into Slovakia. At the time when reform tendencies were flourishing in Prague a fair number of Slovaks studied there. Some of them joined the Hussite party and made efforts to win over their countrymen for the new doctrine. Two of them we know by name. John Laurini, a Canon of Nitra, propagated in many writings, and also orally, Wycliffe's ideas on the Church as the community of the predestined. His works were, however, not much known among the people, because they were written in Latin. After the energetic intervention of his clerical superiors he recanted and remained a member of the chapter. Another Slovak Hussite, Luke of Nové Město, was a member of the radical Taborite wing and wrote a tract on the Eucharist, expounding views very similar to those of Wycliffe. His activities were limited mainly to Bohemia, where he was seized and burned at the stake just as he was preparing to return to his own country. Some traces lead us to the Spiš (Zips) towns, where anti-Hussite tracts were spread in order to oppose the propaganda. From the scanty existing records we learn that in several parishes there even up to 1449 the Communion in both kinds was a persistent practice. Czech military expeditions into Slovakia, and the fact that after the Hussite wars Czech soldiers entered the service of the Hungarian rulers and held Slovakia for them, also influenced the religious thought of the Slovaks, but to a lesser degree than was formerly imagined. Neither in Poland nor in Slovakia did Hussitism strike deep roots. The relation of its adherents to the later Lutherans still requires to be carefully examined.

The propaganda of Hussite doctrine also reached the territories lying further east. About 1430 in the Principality of Moldavia a disciple of Prague University, James, himself a native of Moldavia, was active in Baia, the seat of the bishop. He came with a group of Hussites from Slovakia, condemned the abuses in the Moldavian Church and disseminated Hus's views. Both he and his companions had a considerable success, for Prince Alexander was on their side and protected them against persecution. They therefore did not limit their activity to Moldavia, but extended it also to Eastern Hungary and Transylvania. Moreover in Lower Hungary and Syrmia Hussite ideas had already spread among the Catholic population and came into contact with an old sect in the Balkans, the Bogomils. The foremost propagator was there, Master Blasius, of Kamencz, who had studied at Prague University and after his return found a number of eager assistants. In those countries Hussitism had not penetrated with its full force, but only certain of its doctrines and certain demands for social changes. It was therefore only successful with the lower classes, and not seldom gave an impulse to their conflict with the aristocracy and higher clergy. So it was in Southern Hungary and Transylvania, where in 1437 the peasants revolting against their bishop and nobility were ruthlessly suppressed near Kolozsvár (Cluj). The papal inquisitor, James de Marchia, supported by the Hungarian and Transylvanian bishops, then succeeded in exterminating Hussite doctrines. As usual some of the leaders recanted like the above-mentioned Blasius, but others stood firm and went to the stake. One part of their adherents fled to Moldavia, where they could enjoy more freedom, and here the Hussite propaganda left permanent traces. Under its influence the first translations of the Bible appeared in Hungarian and Roumanian, and perhaps also in German. In this way the beginnings of both Hungarian and Roumanian literature are directly related with the Bohemian reform movement. In Moldavia the followers of Hus long survived, and in 1450-1 they were visited by a delegate whose mission was to negotiate in Constantinople the connection of Czechs with the Orthodox Church. As he was usually called Constantinus Anglicus, there is some ground for thinking that he was a Lollard who had fled from England and was employed by Czechs for diplomatic messages. He announced with pride in Constantinople that he had won for the truth many people in Bohemia, England, Germany and Hungary. Later on, the Moldavian Hussites were strengthened by those members

of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren who had been compelled to leave their country, and had chosen Moldavia for their temporary abode. In the 16th century they were mostly absorbed into the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches.

Even in other countries it is possible to trace the propaganda of the Hussite doctrine. Already in 1410 Jerome of Prague tried to introduce Wycliffe's doctrine into the University of Vienna, and in Buda, the capital of Hungary, he upheld Wycliffe's contention that secular lords ought to care for the improvement of the life of the clergy. In the same year one of the masters of Vienna University warned the Bishop and Chapter of Zagreb against some pupils from their diocese who had studied in Prague and were imbued with Wycliffe's heresy. Attempts were made all through the 15th century to introduce Hussite views into Germany. Similar efforts were made in Switzerland, on the territory of modern Belgium and in the North of France. In 1432 the Bishop of Arras was reluctant to leave his diocese for fear lest Hussitism should gain the upper hand there in his absence.

This wave of Wycliffism, which at the very end of the 14th century had reached Bohemia from England, and after strengthening the stream of the Czech movement had eventually spread into neighbouring countries, began to return even to Wycliffe's own country and to attract attention there. In the summer of 1430 a professor of Cambridge University wrote in haste a polemical letter against the manifesto of the Bohemian military chiefs which contained Hussite views and had reached England through Germany.<sup>1</sup> Two years earlier, in 1428, the Lollard Radulph Mungyn was summoned before the court of the Bishop of London on a charge of holding Wycliffe's doctrine and sympathising with the Czech heretics. He proclaimed publicly that it was not right to fight against them, and like some radical Hussites he claimed that nobody ought to have private property. In Scotland, another Czech, Paul Kravař (Craw), suffered at the stake in 1433, at St. Andrews, for having spread the ideas of Wycliffe and Hus, and sealed through his blood the first link between the Scottish and Bohemian reformations.

The above article of course only contains a very rough sketch of the way in which Wycliffe's ideas reached Bohemia and neighbouring countries:—for those who are interested in fuller details, a list of books and articles is appended.

It is obvious that in Bohemia, Wycliffe's views did not remain

<sup>1</sup> See Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS., n. 86.

isolated, but blended with the programme of the Czech reform movement and thus spread far beyond the boundaries of the Bohemian lands. It was chiefly owing to the adherence of the professors of Prague University to Wycliffe's doctrine that the interest for the Oxford master and his followers was kept alive throughout the 15th century and almost to the coming of Luther. The first connection between England and Bohemia left permanent effects in the spiritual life to the Czech nation, which were not forgotten on either side. Well into the 17th and 18th centuries the Czech exiles living in Poland and soliciting help in England remembered the fact that the light of pure Christian doctrine came into Bohemia from England. At that time a tradition was still in vogue that Wycliffe himself lived in Bohemia when compelled to leave his own country. But his stay would hardly have had a greater influence than the activities of his zealous followers from both countries which we have traced in outline.

OTAKAR ODLOŽILÍK.

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